

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 00894 01 OF 02 010911Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-12 CU-04 HA-05 /095 W
-----072464 011016Z /20

R 010708Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 816
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USNATO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 894

E.O.11652: NA
TAGS: CSCE PGOV HU XG XH
SUBJECT: CURRENT ASSESSMENTS OF CSCE IN HUNGARIAN PRESS

REF: (A) 77 BUDAPEST 4191 (NOTAL (B) BUDAPEST 893

1. SUMMARY: THE HUNGARIAN PRESS BLAMES THE WEST FOR THE
FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON PROPOSALS TO REALIZE THE
HELSINKI FINAL ACT. PRESS CLAIMS WESTERN INSISTENCE ON
HUMAN RIGHTS "INTERFERENCE" RISKS SLOWING DOWN -- BUT NOT
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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 00894 01 OF 02 010911Z

STOPPING -- DETENTE. NEVERTHELESS, AS THE EDITORIALIST
OF THE PARTY DAILY ASSERTS, SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WILL DO
THEIR UTMOST TO CONTINUE ON THE HELSINKI ROAD. ARTICLES
SOUND LIKE SHUTTING OF BELGRADE DOOR AND SUGGEST
HUNGARIANS WANT TO RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO,
FROM THEIR VIEW, MORE CONSTRUCTIVE STATUS QUO ANTE
BELGRADE. END SUMMARY.

2. ON FEB 26, IN MAJOR EDITORIAL IN PARTY PAPER, NEPSZABADSAG, ITS EDITOR, PETER RENYI, GAVE AN AUTHORITATIVE VIEW OF SIGNIFICANCE OF HELSINKI IN ARTICLE ENTITLED, "LESSONS OF DETENTE." ARTICLE APPEARED IN CONJUNCTION WITH BRIEFER EDITORIALS IN COUNTRIES MAJOR NEWS MAGAZINE, MAGYARORSZAG, FEB 24, AND LARGE CIRCULATION DAILY, MAGYAR NEMZET, ALSO ON FEB 26.

3. RENYI WROTE THAT ALMOST CERTAINLY NO AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED AT BELGRADE. THIS IS SURPRISING HE FEELS SINCE AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG HAD SAID IN OCTOBER "U.S. DOES NOT WANT CONFRONTATION." DO THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BREAKDOWN REALIZE THEY RISK SLOWING DOWN DETENTE, RENYI ASKED. RENYI NOTED SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CANNOT SIGN DOCUMENTS WHICH EVALUATE SUCH THINGS AS WHAT OPPORTUNITIES ARE GIVEN FOR ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES FOR ANTI-SOCIALIST GROUPS OR HOW DO SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HANDLE EMIGRATION. BECAUSE THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OPPOSE INTERVENTION IN THEIR AFFAIRS WESTERN STATES ARE REFUSING TO ACCEPT CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS, HE WROTE.

4. RENYI CITED EXAMPLES OF PAST SOCIALIST FIRMNESS WHICH ARE OBVIOUSLY MEANT TO SHOW THAT FIRMNESS WILL PAY OFF TODAY AND NEED NOT NECESSARILY DISRUPT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 00894 01 OF 02 010911Z

DETENTE. HE ALLUDED TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BERLIN WALL; THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HOLDING FIRM BY THEIR ALLY THE GDR, DESPITE FRG'S DRIVE TO ISOLATE IT; AND RESISTANCE TO ATOMIC BLACKMAIL AS PRACTICED BY JOHN FOSTER DULLES. THESE THINGS DID NOT PREVENT PATIENT SOCIALIST POLICY FROM ACHIEVING HELSINKI, A CONFERENCE OF HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE. THIS SIGNIFICANCE, RENYI ADDED, HAS NOT BEEN DENIED BUT CONFIRMED BY BELGRADE DESPITE WESTERN

ATTEMPTS TO WRECK CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALIST PROPOSALS AND MAKE A SPECIAL POINT OF ENFORCING HUMANS RIGHTS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, TO UNDERMINE THEM, DIVIDE THEM AND THWART THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 00894 02 OF 02 011007Z
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 0894

5. RENYI CONCLUDED THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES ARE WILLING TO REACH REASONABLE AGREEMENTS. IF AMBASSADORS CANNOT GO FURTHER THAN EXPLAINING THEIR VIEWPOINTS IT IS REGRETTABLE. BUT HISTORY, HE SAID, PUTS PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSPECTIVE. BIGGER EFFORTS MUST BE MADE FOR PEACE. THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, INCLUDING HUNGARY, WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO CONTINUE THE HELSPNKI ROAD, RENYI WROTE.
6. MAGYARORSZAG ARTICLE SAID CONSTRUCTIVE SIDE AT BELGRADE HAD BEEN ONE WHICH HAS LAID EMPHASIS ON IDEAS THAT ENJOY GENERAL APPROVAL, ABANDONING THOSE WHICH
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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 00894 02 OF 02 011007Z

STAND NO CHANCE OF CONSENSUS. IT STATES SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES HAVE CALLED FOR FURTHER REALIZATION OF HELSINKI ACT AND PUT FORTH CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS. BUT THE WEST, EDITORIAL STATES, SEEKS TO UPSET BALANCE OF ACT BY ADVOCATING MEASURES WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST STATES, THEREBY PREVENTING A FINAL DOCUMENT TAKING SHAPE AT BELGRADE.

7. IMRE TATAR WROTE IN MAGYAR NEMZET THAT NATO COUNTRIES HAVE FILED A COURT SUIT AND SET THEMSELVES UP AS PROSECUTORS. ONE HAS TO ASK ONESELF WHETHER THEY REALLY DESIRE THE COMMON AND GRADUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, OR SIMPLY WANT TO CONDEMN OTHERS. FORTUNATELY TATAR WROTE, THE WEST DOES NOT HOLD A UNIFORM VIEW OF HOW FAR ONE CAN GO AND NO WESTERN COUNTRY MEANS TO ENDANGER DETENTE. "IN THE YEARS OF THE COLD WAR, ONE COULD HARDLY SPEAK OF PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS IN THE EAST AND IN THE WEST. THE MORE DETENTE HAS BECOME PREVALENT, THE MORE HAS CHANGED IN THIS RESPECT TOO. THE TWO--INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE AND THE QUESTIONS OF HUMAN-ITARIANISM- ARE CLOSELY CONNECTED. HE WHO COOLS THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE, AT THE SAME TIME CAUSES THE POSSIBILITY OF EXPANDING RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES TO DETERIORATE."

8. COMMENT: HUNGARIANS WANT TO FIX BLAME FOR ANY DIS-APPOINTMENTS AT BELGRADE FIRMLY WITH WEST. AT SAME TIME, THEY APPARENTLY WISH TO SEE BELGRADE CONFERENCE CONCLUDED AND FORGOTTEN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NO DOUBT GOH HAS HOPES OF REVERTING TO STATUS QUO ANTE BELGRADE WHEN ITS POLICY TOWARDS WEST WAS PRODUCING BETTER ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND UNDER UMBRELLA OF DETENETE AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 00894 02 OF 02 011007Z

FINAL ACT THEY COULD MAKE LIMITED BILATERAL CONCESSIONS TO WEST ON BASKET III ISSUES (SEE REFTEL (A)). THESE EDITORIALISTS ALL CONTINUE TO SPEAK OF HELSINKI IN POSITIVE TERMS, NOTWITHSTANDING HAMMERING ON ALLEGED ATTEMPTS OF WEST TO ABUSE IT THROUGH THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS DEMANDS. THEY ALL LEAVE DOOR OPEN TO FURTHER HELSINKI IMPLEMENTATION. LIKE DEPUTY FONMIN JANOS NAGY (SEE REFTEL (B)), THEY ALL OPERATE ON ASSUMPTION THAT DETENTE WILL CONTINUE ALBEIT AT A SLOWER PACE. RENYI TALSK AS THOUGH HE WOULD LIKE TO CONFINE DETENTE AND IMPLEMENTATION TO IMPROVING SECURITY, FORGETTING HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT THE OTHERS PUT A DIFFERENT TWIST ON THIS POINT (AS NAGY DID), MAKING THE COMMONPLACE HUNGARIAN POINT THAT DETENTE BRINGS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS, NOT VICE VERSA.

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